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심리학 석사 학위논문

# Essentialist Beliefs about Happiness and its Impacts on Well-Being

행복에 대한 본질주의적 믿음이  
웰빙에 미치는 영향

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# Essentialist Beliefs about Happiness and its Impacts on Well-Being

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## **Abstract**

Lay theories about happiness are pervasive in lay people's everyday life. However, to date, despite lay people's fascination with happiness, we know little about lay theories about happiness and its implications for well-being. The current research investigated lay theories about happiness within a framework of psychological essentialism. In Study 1 and 2, I developed and validated a new scale to assess the essentialist beliefs about happiness with three components: (1) the immutability, (2) the biological basis, and (3) the effort constructivism. In Study 3, I found that the essentialist beliefs about happiness were negatively correlated with well-being measures and with intention of happiness-seeking behaviors. To clarify the causal effect, in Study 4, I experimentally manipulated essentialist beliefs about happiness and revealed that viewing happiness in a perspective of essentialists significantly reduced intentions to engage in happiness exercises. In Study 5, a one-week intervention study was conducted to examine whether there exist moderating effects of the essentialist belief about happiness on the effectiveness of happiness-boosting interventions. The results showed that positive interventions yielded equal effectiveness. Implications for well-being are discussed.

**Keywords :** lay theory, happiness, essentialism, well-being

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There has been increasing recognition among researchers that lay theories play a pivotal role in people's perceptual experience and behaviors (Dweck, Chiu, & Hong, 1995; Dweck & Leggett, 1988; Levy et al., 2001). People have intuitive theories, namely lay theories to use in everyday life to interpret their social world (Hong, Levy, & Chiu, 2001; Levy et al., 2001; Lickel, Hamilton, & Sherman 2001; Molden & Dweck, 2006). What matters more to lay people is not academic theories per se, but their own theories that they have. Researchers have found the roles of lay theories in numerous domains such as intelligence (Dweck & Leggett, 1988; Hong, Levy, & Chiu, 2001), morality (Chiu, Dweck, Tong, & Fu, 1997) and personality (Chiu, Hong, & Dweck, 1997; Gervy, Chiu, Hong, & Dweck, 1999). For example, Dweck and Leggett (1988) showed that different lay theories about intelligence generate different goal orientations, perception and behavior patterns related to achievement. More specifically, individuals, who believe that intelligence is malleable and increasable (incremental theory), are more likely to pursue their learning goals to increase competence, whereas those who believe intelligence is unchangeable (entity theory) tend to pursue goals to avoid negative judgments. One domain where the role of lay beliefs is largely ignored by researchers is happiness.

### **Lay theories about happiness**

*“What are the roots of day-to-day happiness and well-being?”* (Sheldon, Ryan, & Reis, 1996, p.1270) This fundamental question is crucial not only for researchers, but also for lay people. Although happiness is central to lay people's beliefs (King & Napa,



1998), less often have researchers examined lay theories of happiness (Furnham & Cheng, 2000). From the scarce literature, I could get some suggestive evidence that lay theories of happiness play significant roles in various well-being outcomes.

Furnham and Cheng (2000) suggested that the lay theories about the causes of happiness were related to happiness. They identified six underlying factors in people's assumptions about the causes of happiness: mental strength & personality, personal advantages, achievement & freedom, social support & esteem, and optimism & contentment. Among these, "*optimism & contentment*" was found to be associated with self-reported happiness. In addition, Koo and Suh (2007) argued that lay beliefs about fixed amount of happiness were associated with relational, behavioral, and cognitive aspects of well-being. People who strongly believed that a fixed amount of happiness exists in the world were less happy and were less likely to take advantage of positive experiences. Also, McMahan and Estes (2010) investigated the relationship between lay people's conception of well-being and experience of well-being. Based on theoretical conceptions of well-being – hedonism and eudaimonism, they found that how one views the nature of happiness affects the actual experience of well-being. In particular, the eudaimonic aspects of lay theories, such as self-development and contribution to others, were stronger predictors of well-being measures (e.g., life satisfaction, vitality and positive affect) than hedonic ones.

These results suggest that how people attribute, understand and conceptualize happiness have implications for actual experience of well-being. However, the aforementioned studies were primarily concerned with contents, natures or types of

happiness rather than sources of happiness (i.e., whether happiness comes from genetics or intentional efforts). Therefore, the present research proposes that people differ in their beliefs about the origin of happiness and such differences make significant differences in experience of well-being and happiness-seeking behaviors. Specifically, it is predicted that those who believe the genetic origin of happiness (“psychological essentialism” dubbed in the present research) would be more likely to experience lower level of happiness and less likely to engage in various happiness-enhancing activities than those who do not endorse the belief.

### **Essentialism as a Lay Theory**

Recently, psychological essentialism has attracted intense attention among psychologists. The notion of essentialism can be found in diverse disciplines, such as philosophy, chemistry, and biology. For example, in the domain of biology, essentialism is regarded as pre-Darwinian view of species (Mayr, 1963, 1970; Sober, 1980; Wilson, Barker, & Brigandt, 2007) that each species has an essential quality that remains unchanging as an organism undergoes morphological transformation (Gelman, 2004; Hull, 1965).

Within psychology, however, essentialism refers not to how the world really is (i.e., objective reality), but rather to people’s routinized beliefs that there exist some essences which members of certain category share (Gelman, 2003). Medin and Ortony (1989) firstly coined the term “*psychological essentialism*” to refer to people’s beliefs that things have underlying hidden essences that determine their identities, and that are

responsible for similarities or differences in perception. Psychological essentialism is a “*general human tendency*” (Dar-Nimrod & Heine, 2011) and a basic reasoning heuristic (Gelman, 2003; Gelman, 2004; Salomon, & Cimpian, 2014), which appears from a very young age onward (Gelman & Wellman, 1991; Gelman 2004). Also, an intuitive notion of essence is remarkably pervasive across time and cultures (Gelman & Hirschfeld, 1999). In most cases, materialistic descriptions of essences are unknown and unknowable to lay people. Without knowing exactly what the essence is, people often use an “essence placeholder” to draw causal inferences and to overcome its ambiguity and complexity (Medin & Ortony, 1989).

With this notion, social psychologists have examined psychological essentialism in social categories such as race (Keller, 2005; Williams & Eberhardt, 2008), gender (Dar-Nimrod & Heine, 2006; Mahalingam, 2003a), social class (Kraus & Keltner, 2013; Mahalingam, 2003b), mental disorder (Haslam & Ernst, 2002), depression (Lebowitz, Ahn, & Nolen-Hoeksema, 2013) and homosexuality (Haslam & Levy, 2006). The foci of previous research were to clarify the structures of psychological essentialism and to identify its roles and implications for social world. As for the structure of the essentialist beliefs in social categories, Haslam and his colleagues (2000) suggested that various social categories could be essentialized along two distinct dimensions: *natural kind* and *entitativity*. The natural kind refers to naturalness (biological), immutability, and stability of the categories, whereas the entitativity refers to informativeness, uniformity and exclusivity of the categories. Social categories can be essentialized along these two dimensions. For example, gender and race are perceived as natural kind, and Jews and

political groups are understood as entitativity (Haslam, Rothschild, & Ernst, 2000).

Many psychologists have tried to reveal important implications of essentialism for social cognition, motivation and attitudes. Much research has focused especially on the biological component of psychological essentialism because “genes” often serve as the “essence placeholder” for most lay people (Dar-Nimrod and Heine, 2011). Importantly, biological essentialism that entails beliefs in the immutability and genetic determinism of social groups or particular life outcomes may cause problematic social consequences. (Dar-Nimrod & Heine, 2011, for a comprehensive review; also see Prentice & Miller, 2007).

For example, Kraus and Keltner (2013) found that people who endorse essentialist lay theory about social class are more likely to justify social hierarchy. People who believe that ‘*social class is biological and is easy to figure out*’ tend to conceive that the world is fair. Moreover, these essentialist beliefs of social class were likely to lead to a rejection of restorative punishment for crime. In addition, Keller (2005) found that the biological component of psychological essentialism has a distinct role in stereotyping, prejudice, and other mechanisms of motivated social cognition. When people hold a strong biological essentialist belief in human life, they showed high tendencies toward negative racial stereotyping and prejudice. Moreover, in his experimental study, it was proven that the biological essentialism has a causal impact on prejudice and in-group bias. Similarly, Williams and Eberhardt (2008) found that the biological essentialist beliefs of race made people more likely to accept social inequalities between races and to discourage interracial interaction. They argued that when race was assumed to be

biologically-determined, people justified racial disparities because they perceived other race as out-group. In this context, essentialists' understanding makes people justify and perpetuate social disparities (Mahalingam, 2003a; Napier, 2014).

However, to the best of my knowledge, no research has been done to examine happiness within a framework of psychological essentialism. I believe that a perspective of psychological essentialism can be usefully applied to lay theories of happiness research as well. Building on the previous research, the present study investigates how the essentialist beliefs about happiness affect experience of well-being. To begin, the essentialist beliefs about happiness can be defined as lay people's tendency to essentialize happiness in everyday thoughts (not scientific claims about the sources of happiness). People may believe that happiness is deeply rooted in some underlying-unobserved essences, which determine immutable levels of happiness regardless of intentional efforts. Although people may perceive that a broad range of causal essences (e.g., fate, environment, or genes) for happiness exists, the present study focuses on the biological essentialist beliefs about happiness that happiness is assumed to be based on fundamental biological factors. As mentioned above, lay people often use genetic accounts as an essence placeholder to infer human outcomes (Dar-Nimrod & Heine, 2011), thus it seems plausible to assume that beliefs in biological underpinnings of happiness would be common among people.

Based on insights from the previous research, I propose that the essentialist belief about happiness comprise three components. (1) The "*Immutability*" is a beliefs that one's happiness level is stable and unchangeable overtime, which seems quite similar to

a scientific term, *the happiness set-point* (Lykken & Tellegen, 1996). (2) The “*Biological basis*” is a belief that happiness biologically determined. (3) The “*Effort constructivism*” is an opposite component, referring to a belief that happiness can be cultivated through practice or effort.

I argue that understanding lay theories of happiness within a framework of psychological essentialism is important for several reasons. First, the nature vs. nurture of happiness is one of the most controversial issues in happiness research. On the one hand, recent scientists have identified that genetic effects account for 50% of the variance of well-being (e.g., Lykken & Tellegen, 1996) and some specific genes locus that play a significant role in our sense of well-being (e.g., De Neve, 2011; Weiss, Bates, & Luciano, 2008). On the other hand, researchers contended that happiness can indeed be increased by practices (e.g., Seligman, Steen, Part, & Peterson, 2005). Lay people may hold these two competing lay theories likewise, such that some people may view that happiness rooted in genetic underpinnings whereas others may see it as a product of efforts and practices. Therefore, it is important to examine the existence of essentialist beliefs about happiness and its association with experienced well-being.

Second, there might be substantial variation in the extent to which people essentialize happiness. People may develop and modify their own theories about happiness inspired by external stimuli such as empirical discoveries from media, or through their own observations and personal experiences. Thus, the degree to endorse essentialism about happiness may differ from individual to individual.

Finally, essentialism may lead people to negative consequences in motivation and

perception of happiness. According to previous research, people who held more essentialist beliefs tended to more endorse stereotypes (Bastian & Haslam, 2006) and to see racial disparities as less problematic (Williams & Eberhardt, 2008), as they consciously assumed differences to be innately determined. The question then arises as to whether an essentialist view on happiness reduces people's motivation to exert effort to be happier. Thus, it is important to investigate the roles of the essentialism about happiness and implications for well-being.

## **PRESENT STUDY**

The goal of the present research is to examine the essentialist beliefs about happiness and its impacts on well-being. Study 1 and 2 set out to develop and validate a scale measuring the essentialist beliefs about happiness. In Study 3, I examined the relationship between essentialist beliefs about happiness and people's actual well-being and their intentions toward happiness-seeking behaviors. I predicted that the essentialist beliefs about happiness would be negatively correlated with well-being measures as well as happiness-seeking motivation. In Study 4, using an experimental manipulation, I scrutinized causal directions between the essentialist beliefs about happiness and well-being outcomes. I manipulated essentialist thinking about happiness to test its effect on participants' intentions to engage in happiness-enhancing activities. I hypothesized that priming essentialist beliefs about happiness would reduce participants' motivation to cultivate happiness. Finally, in Study 5, with an intervention design, I examined that the moderating effect of the essentialist beliefs about happiness on effectiveness of happiness exercises.



## Study 1

Study 1 was designed to develop a scale assessing the extent that people endorse essentialist beliefs about happiness. As mentioned above, I proposed that there would be three different components that constitute the essentialist beliefs about happiness: (1) immutability, (2) biological basis (or genetic determinism), and (3) effort constructivism. In study 1, I sought to develop a scale of the latent structure of essentialism about happiness in an exploratory manner.

### Method

#### *Participants*

182 students at Seoul National University (*male* 87, *female* 95) were recruited by online advertisements in a campus online community. They were paid 5,000 KRW for their participation. The mean age was 25.92.

#### *Measures*

*Scale construction.* 16 test items were initially generated to develop a scale assessing people's essentialist belief about happiness. I drew up initial 16 test items from the related constructs that reflect the essentialist beliefs and modified them to make them relevant to the happiness domain. The *immutability* component assesses the beliefs that one's happiness level cannot be changed much (e.g., "In general, person's happiness level does not change much throughout one's lifetime"). I adapted some items from the measures in the implicit person theory (Levy et al. 1998; Chiu, Hong, &

Dweck 1997). The items for the *biological basis* component were designed to assess the people's belief that happiness is genetically determined (e.g., "One's level of happiness can largely be explained by one's genetic make-up"). 5 items were developed to test people's biological conception about happiness, some of which were adapted from earlier work in the psychological essentialism by Bastian and Haslam (2006). Finally, the items for the *effort constructivism* component were created to tap into a belief that people's level of happiness is changeable with practice and effort (e.g., "One can change one's overall level of happiness through force of will"). Study 1 used a 7-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) and asked participants to rate the extent to which they agree with the give statements.

## **Results and Discussion**

To select items that are theoretically and statistically appropriate for the essentialist beliefs about happiness, an exploratory factor analysis with oblique rotation was performed using CEFA software package (Browne, Cudeck, Tateneni, & Mels, 2004). Table 1 shows the test items and their factor loadings.

Table 1

*Factor Loadings for the Essentialist Beliefs about Happiness Scale*

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
1. Happiness is genetically determined.	<b>0.84</b>	0.02	0.09
2. The biological and genetic characteristics of happy people are more conducive to happiness than are those of unhappy people.	<b>0.88</b>	-0.04	-0.01
3. One's level of happiness can largely be explained by one's genetic make-up.	<b>0.78</b>	0.02	0.14
4. The extent to which one experiences happiness can never be accounted for by genetic or biological factors.	<b>-0.54</b>	-0.02	0.10
5. One's happiness is determined by inborn temperament or personality	0.28	0.05	-0.05
6. Anyone can become happy with practice and effort.	0.09	<b>0.73</b>	-0.05
7. One can change one's overall level of happiness through force of will.	-0.03	<b>0.84</b>	-0.05
8. Even unhappy people can attain happiness if they strive to become happy	-0.04	<b>0.85</b>	-0.03
9. Happiness depends on your perspective.	-0.04	<b>0.72</b>	-0.01
10. Conscious effort is not sufficient for becoming happier.	0.00	-0.23	0.25
11. In general, person's happiness level does not change much throughout one's lifetime.	-0.02	0.04	<b>0.69</b>
12. The extent to which one feels happy can temporarily increase or decrease, but it does not change much overall for most people.	0.02	0.08	<b>0.68</b>

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
13. How happy one will be is pre-determined for the most part.	0.03	-0.10	<b>0.77</b>
14. Some people are born to be happy while others are born to be unhappy, and there is not much one can do to change that.	0.14	-0.12	<b>0.75</b>
15. There are some people in the world who always seem to be happy through life.	0.18	0.10	0.23
16 There are some people in the world who always seem to be unhappy through life.	0.27	-0.11	0.26

The items for the three factors of the essentialist beliefs about happiness were selected if the item loaded at .40 or higher on one factor and .20 or below on the other factors. This analysis yielded a total of 12 items: four items on the immutability factor ( $M = 3.02$ ,  $SD = 1.13$ ), four items on the biological basis factor ( $M = 3.00$ ,  $SD = 1.27$ ), and four on the effort constructivism factor ( $M = 5.33$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ). The fit index was  $RMSEA = .088$  (90 percent confidence interval: 0.072; 0.105), indicating that the model was reasonable.

Table 2 shows the intercorrelations between the subscales as well as the internal reliability score for each scale. When the factors were allowed to correlate in the oblique rotation, the immutability is positively correlated with the biological basis ( $r = .39$ ) and inversely with effort constructivism ( $r = -.31$ ). These results suggest that participants who tend to believe that happiness has an immutable nature also tend to understand that

people's happiness levels are deeply rooted in biological basis and that happiness grows less from the intentional efforts. However, it is interesting that the correlation between the biological basis and the effort constructivism was weak ( $r = -.10$ ), suggesting that these two constructs may be independent of each other. Overall, the results in Study 1 showed that the scale development for the essentialism about happiness with three-factor model was acceptable.

Table 2  
*Intercorrelations among the factors of the EBH*

	1	2	3
1. Biological basis ( $\alpha = .841$ )	1.00		
2. Effort constructivism ( $\alpha = .866$ )	-0.10	1.00	
3. Immutability ( $\alpha = .842$ )	0.39	-0.31	1.00

## Study 2

Study 2 was conducted to provide further validation for the EBH, examining the association of the scale with related constructs of psychological essentialism.

### Method

#### *Participants and procedures*

154 undergraduate students (*male* 71, *female* 83) who enrolled in an introductory psychology course at the Seoul National University took part in the study. Participants completed a questionnaire in exchange for a chocolate bar as a gesture of appreciation for their participation. The mean age was 21.96.

#### *Measures*

*Essentialist beliefs about happiness (EBH) scale.* The questionnaire included the list of 12 items (devised in Study 1) to assess essentialist belief about happiness. The total EBH score was calculated by summing the mean scores of the immutability and the biological basis and subtracting the effort constructivism.

*Psychological essentialism.* To test the construct validity of the EBH scale, the study included a domain-general essentialism scale developed by Bastian and Haslam (2006), which assesses general essentialist beliefs in human differences. The psychological essentialism scale includes three belief scales (biological basis, discreteness, and informativeness). In the present study, only the biological basis scale (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .81$ ) was used (e.g., "The kind of person someone is can be largely

attributed to their genetic inheritance”), because it was not expected that the EBH was relevant to discreteness and informativeness scales. Participants responded to these items on a 7-point scales.

*Social class essentialism.* Kraus and Keltner (2013) introduced social class essentialism scales (SCE) to assess essentialist beliefs about social class categories. The social class essentialism scale includes two subscales: the biological basis subscale (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .65$ ) and the discreteness subscale (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .84$ ). Whereas the discreteness scale is about the belief that social class is a discrete category (e.g., “Other people’s social class is easy to figure out), the biological scale is about the belief that biological components determine social class categories (e.g., “Social class is partly biological”). It was expected that the EBH scale would be moderately or positively associated with the biological scale of SCE, but not with the discreteness scale. Participants responded to these items on a 7-point scales.

*Implicit person theory.* To assess the belief about implicit person theory, a three-item scale was used that depicts person as a fixed entity (Chiu, Hong, & Dweck, 1997). The items were “The kind of person someone is is something very basic about them, and it can’t be changed very much”, “People can do things differently, but the important parts of who they are can’t really be changed”, and “Everyone is a certain kind of person and there is not much that can be done to really change that”. Participants indicated the extent of agreement with each item on a 6-point scale. Given the close connection between psychological essentialism and implicit person theory (Yzerbyt, Corneille, & Estrada, 2001), it was expected that the EBH scale has a positive relationship with the

implicit theory.

*Protestant ethic.* To generating evidence concerning the association of the EBH scale with sociopolitical attitudes, the study included the Protestant Ethic Scale by Mirels & Garrett (1971). The representative item is “If one works hard enough he is likely to make a good life for himself”. Although protestant ethic is a more prevalent value in Western cultures, it was expected that the EBH scale, especially the effort constructivism subscale, would be related to it. Also, it was expected to replicate previous research (Keller, 2005) that showed a moderate relationship between the biological component of essentialism and the protestant ethic ( $r = .19, p < .01$ ). Participants responded to these items on a 7-point scale. (Cronbach’s  $\alpha$  was .70)

*Happiness attributions.* To assess participants’ attributions to happiness, a scenario was given to participants. Adopted from Koo and Suh (2007), the scenario was about a person in a café, saying that ‘I am very happy and I am completely satisfied with my life’. Participants were asked to indicate how much they attributed the person’s happiness to each of the five factors as a percentage: 1) biological basis, 2) economic condition, 3) social relationships, 4) health, and 5) attitude/perspective. The summation of those 5 factors should be 100% in total. The proportion of the biological factor was used as a dependent variable and it was expected that the EBH scale would be positively associated with biological attributions.



## Results and Discussion

Table 3 shows the correlations between the EBH scale and related constructs. As expected, the EBH scale was significantly positively correlated with the psychological essentialism scale ( $r = .37, p < .01$ ) and the biological subscales of the social class essentialism ( $r = .40, p < .01$ ). These results were consistent with the predictions that EBH scale would be substantially related to essentialist belief constructs in other domains. However, the correlation with the discreteness subscales of the social class essentialism turned out to be not significant ( $r = -.00, ns$ ), suggesting that the EBH scale did not include discreteness conception of the social class essentialism. The Protestant Ethic scale, which measures individuals' motivation to behave in accordance with protestant values, was not correlated with the total EBH score ( $r = -.02, ns$ ). However, as expected, the effort constructivism subscale moderately correlated with the Protestant Ethic scale ( $r = .20, p < .05$ ), which indicates that individuals, who emphasized work hard as a duty which benefits both the individual and society, seemed to consider that happiness is the fruit of personal effort. Also, as expected, the Protestant Ethic scale showed a positive relationship with biological basis subscale of the EBH ( $r = .18, p < .05$ ), replicating and expanding past findings (Keller, 2005). Finally, the EBH showed a positive correlation with the Implicit Person Theory ( $r = .38, p < .01$ ), such that people who conceived of happiness in essentialist's ways tended to endorse an entitative view of person traits.

Table 3

*Correlation with the EBH Scale and Related Constructs*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. EBH: Immutability	-								
2. EBH : Effort	-.43**	-							
3. EBH : Biological	.42**	-.29**	-						
4. EBH: Total	.78**	-.71**	.80**	-					
5. Psychological Essentialism	.21**	-.03	.56**	.37**	-				
6. Social Class Essentialism (Discreteness)	.05	.06	.01	-.00	.06	-			
7. Social Class Essentialism (Biological basis)	.28**	-.24**	.37**	.40**	.25**	.31**	-		
8. Protestant Ethic	-.10	.20*	.18*	-.02	.16*	.37**	.24**	-	
9. Implicit Person Theory	.37**	-.20*	.29**	.38**	.41**	.17*	.23**	.09	-

\* $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

Table 4 presents the correlation between the EBH scale and happiness attribution. As expected, the EBH was correlated with biological factor attributions ( $r = .34, p < .01$ ). That is, people with high scores in the EBH were more likely to explain causes of happiness to biological factors. Furthermore, the EBH was negatively correlated with attitude attribution ( $r = -.23, p < .01$ ). These results indicate that people with essentialist belief about happiness are less likely to regard attitude as a cause of happiness. Interestingly, the EBH was positive related with economic attribution ( $r = .26, p < .01$ ). It could be argued that people who strongly believe that money can buy happiness tend to understand happiness as an immutable state and as something that cannot be gained from efforts.

Table 4  
*Correlation with the EBH Scale and Happiness Attribution*

	Biological Attribution	Economic Attribution	Social Relationship Attribution	Health Attribution	Attitude Attribution
EBH:Immutability	.20*	.24**	-.13	.06	-.17*
EBH:Effort	-.22**	-.29**	.01	.12	.29**
EBH:Biological	.34**	.10	-.17*	-.08	-.10
Total EBH	.34**	.26**	-.14	-.06	-.23**

\* $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

To see whether EBH has a unique or an incremental validity over and beyond the existing essentialism scales, a multiple regression analysis was conducted to test the unique contribution of the EBH scale in predicting biological attributions about happiness. At Step 1 of the regression, the biological subscale of psychological essentialism, the biological subscale of social class and the entity person theory were entered as predictors of biological attributions about happiness; only significant effect of the psychological essentialism scale emerged ( $\beta = .27$ ,  $t(149) = 3.19$ ,  $p < .05$ ). When the EBH was entered at Step2, the inclusion of EBH scale significantly increased  $R^2$  change by 4.5%,  $\beta = .25$ ,  $t(148) = 2.80$ ,  $p < .01$  (see Table 5). In addition, EBH showed a stronger correlation with the biological attributions of happiness than other constructs (see Table 6).

I demonstrated that the EBH scale was associated with – but distinct from– measures of the psychological essentialism, social class essentialism and other related constructs. Also, it was found that the EBH scale had a unique relationship with biological attribution about happiness.

Table 5  
*Regression Analysis Predicting Happiness Attribution to Biological Factor*

	B	SE B	$\beta$	Sig.
(Constant)	-1.228	5.374		.820
1 Psychological Essentialism (Biological)	.315	.099	.275	.002
Social Class Essentialism (Biological)	.337	.190	.146	.079
Implicit Person Theory	-.002	.261	-.001	.995
Protestant Ethic	-.041	.067	-.049	.541
(Constant)	3.149	5.483		.567
2 Psychological Essentialism (Biological)	.252	.099	.220	.012
Social Class Essentialism (Biological)	.148	.198	.064	.458
Implicit Person Theory	-.175	.263	-.057	.507
Protestant Ethic	-.008	.067	-.010	.903
<b>EBH</b>	<b>.237</b>	<b>.085</b>	<b>.252</b>	<b>.006</b>

R square change = .045,  $p = .006$

Table 6  
*Correlation with the Biological Attribution about Happiness and Related measures*

	EBH	Psychological Essentialism (Biological)	Social Class Essentialism (Biological)	Social Class Essentialism (Discreteness)	Protestant Ethic	Implicit Person Theory
Biological Attribution about Happiness	.34**	.30**	.20*	.04	.03	.14

\* $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

## Study 3

Now that the EBH proved to be a valid tool for measuring essentialists' lay theories of happiness, Study 3 was conducted to examine the relationship between essentialist beliefs about happiness and well-being measures. The study also explored that how such differences in essentialist beliefs about happiness would affect people's intention toward happiness-seeking behaviors. Given the previous research that psychological essentialism may reduce people's motivation to change the status quo, (Prentice & Miller, 2007; see also, Prentice & Miller, 2006; Williams & Eberhardt, 2008; Yzerbyt, Corneille, & Estrada, 2001), the essentialist beliefs about happiness could then reduce motivation to engage in happiness-boosting strategies likewise. Thus, I predicted that the EBH would be negatively related with well-being measures and intention to engage in happiness-increasing activities.

## Method

### *Participants*

Participants were 130 students (*male 57, female 73*) at Seoul National University recruited by online advertisements in a campus community website. They received 5,000 KRW for their participation. The mean age was 24.5.

### *Measures*

*Essentialist beliefs about happiness (EBH) scale.* The questionnaire included the list of 12 items (devised in Study 1) to assess essentialist belief about happiness.

*SWB.* Subjective well-being (SWB) was measured with the 5-item Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985), in which participants provide a cognitive assessment of own life in general (e.g., “In most ways my life is close to my ideal”), and the two 10-item subscales of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), which measure emotional experience. Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they had experienced 10 positive affective states (e.g., excited, proud) and 10 negative affective states (e.g., nervous, irritable) during the past month on a 5-point scale (0= “*Not at all*”, 5= “*Extremely*”). SWB was calculated with the standardized scores of each component: by summing the z-scores of the mean of SWLS mean and the z-scores of the affect balance mean.

*PWB.* Psychological Well-Being (Ryff & Keyes, 1995) was assessed with the 18-item scales that tap six distinct aspects of well-being: autonomy, environmental mastery, personal growth, positive relations with others, purpose in life, and self-acceptance. As distinct from SWB, PWB reflects the eudaimonic approach to well-being delineating multidimensional definitions for the assessment of human-flourishing, and thus it complements hedonic conception of SWB (Ryan & Deci, 2001). Some examples of items are “I judge myself by what I think is important, not by the values of what others think is important (autonomy),” “In general, I feel I am in charge of the situation in which I live (environmental mastery),” “For me, life has been a continuous process of learning, changing, and growth (personal growth),” “ I have not experienced many warm and trusting relationships with others (positive relations with others),” “Some

people wander aimlessly through life, but I am not one of them (purpose in life).” “I like most aspects of my personality (self-acceptance).” Each PWB item was scored on a 7-point scale.

*Intention to initiate happiness exercises.* To measure individuals’ intention to increase their happiness, the study incorporated a measure in which participants were asked to rate how much they would like to try each of the happiness-boosting activities in their everyday lives. Participants rated each of the 11 items on a 7-point scale (1= *definitely do NOT want to try this*, 7= *definitely want to try this*). The items were generated by the framework of happiness-boosting activities described in the previous research. (Lyubomirsky, 2008; Parks et al., 2012). The activities were “Practicing acts of kindness toward others,” “Pursuing goals that are important to me,” “Expressing gratitude,” “Being optimistic,” “Savoring life’s joys,” “Acting like a happy person,” “Doing activities that make me feel ‘in the moment’,” “Using strategies that help me cope with stress or adversity,” “Avoiding overthinking and comparing myself to others,” and “Practicing meditation.” The items were summed to create a composite measure of the intention to increase happiness. ( $M = 5.63$ ,  $SD = .71$ , Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .83$ )

## **Results and Discussion**

An examination of correlations revealed that the essentialist beliefs about happiness were significantly correlated with well-being measures (see Table 7). Consistent with the predictions, the EBH showed significant negative correlations with the SWB ( $r = -.34$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and PWB ( $r = -.47$ ,  $p < .001$ ), suggesting that participants



who had relatively high essentialist beliefs about happiness tended to experience lower well-being than their counterparts did. As can be seen, the EBH scale was correlated significantly with the SWB components, as well as PWB subscales, except with autonomy ( $r = -.06$ , *ns*) and purpose in life ( $r = -.13$ , *ns*).

Table 7  
*Correlation with the EBH scale and Well-Being Measures*

	EBH: Total	EBH: Immutability	EBH: Effort	EBH: Biological
SWB	-.34**	-.23**	.42**	-.09
SWLS	-.32**	-.20*	.40**	-.11
Affect Balance	-.28**	-.20*	.34**	-.06
PWB	-.47**	-.36**	.46**	-.18*
Positive relation	-.24**	-.15	.25**	-.12
Self-acceptance	-.34**	-.32**	.33**	-.10
Autonomy	-.06	-.06	-.02	-.06
Personal growth	-.50**	-.39**	.47**	-.21*
Environmental Mastery	-.39**	-.30**	.38**	-.16
Purpose in Life	-.13	-.05	.25**	.01

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

Also, further examination of correlation showed the expected patterns that participants who had high essentialist beliefs about happiness were more likely to express lower intention to engage happiness-boosting activities ( $r = -.47$ ,  $p < .01$ ) (see Table 8). As can be seen, the EBH scale was negatively correlated with intentions

toward most types of happiness-enhancing activities, except with practicing meditation ( $r = -.13, ns$ ).

Taken together, the results in Study 3 provide initial evidence that essentialism in the domain of happiness is associated with negative outcomes of well-being. As predicted, high ratings of the EBH scale were related to lower experienced well-being and lower intentions to happiness-seeking behaviors. I speculated that the relationship may be driven by the fact that essentialist beliefs about happiness alleviate intentions to exert effort to be happier, which directly lead to actions and behaviors cultivating happiness. However, it does not support any assumption of causality. Thus, in Study 4 I sought out to explore the direction of causality between the essentialist beliefs about happiness and intention for happiness activities.

Table 8  
Means and correlation with the EBH scale and intention to initiate the happiness-related activities

	EBH: Total	EBH: Immutability	EBH : Effort	EBH : Biological
Practicing acts of kindness toward others ( $M = 5.32$ )	-.37**	-.25**	.35**	-.20*
Pursuing goals that are important to me ( $M = 6.15$ )	-.30**	-.21*	.22*	-.21*
Expressing gratitude ( $M = 5.90$ )	-.48**	-.29**	.37**	-.35**
Being optimistic ( $M = 6.05$ )	-.38**	-.22*	.30**	-.29**
Doing physical exercise or sports ( $M = 5.85$ )	-.25**	-.20*	.19*	-.14
Savoring life's joys ( $M = 5.92$ )	-.26**	-.19*	.20*	-.15
Acting like a happy person ( $M = 5.13$ )	-.30**	-.31**	.36**	.02
Doing activities that make me feel "in the moment" ( $M = 5.58$ )	-.34**	-.29**	.28**	-.15
Using strategies that help me cope with stress or adversity ( $M = 5.53$ )	-.22*	-.20*	.25**	-.03
Avoiding overthinking and comparing myself to others ( $M = 5.86$ )	-.20*	-.09	.14	-.19*
Practicing meditation ( $M = 4.82$ )	-.13	-.05	.13	-.10
Total ( $M = 5.65$ )	-.47**	-.34**	.41**	-.25**

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

## Study 4

In study 4, I sought to build support for causal relationship between the EBH and well-being. Due to the limitations of the correlational design in Study 3, in Study 4, I manipulated the essentialist beliefs about happiness to test the causal relationship between the essentialist beliefs about happiness and participants' intention for boosting their happiness, using a priming technique which was used in previous research on other domains of essentialism (Keller, 2005; Kraus & Keltner, 2013; Williams & Eberhardt, 2008).

Study 4 has another goal. Study 3 found that essentialists were less motivated to engage in happiness-enhancing activities than their counterparts. Some might argue, however, that essentialists value happiness less than their counterparts from the first place, not just because they were less motivated to boost their happiness. Therefore, it is not clear whether essentialists and non-essentialists differ in valuing happiness or motivation for happiness or both. To resolve this issue, Study 4 measured participants' valuation of happiness as well as their happiness level.

## Method

### ***Participants***

107 undergraduate students (*male 57, female 50*) who enrolled in an introductory psychology at Seoul National University participated in the study. The mean age was 21.13.

### ***Manipulation and conditions***

Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three conditions. In the essentialist condition ( $n=39$ ), a mock scientific article on the “genetic effect on happiness” was presented to participants in order to temporarily induce an essentialist belief about happiness. The article explained that researchers, through years of rigorous research, had discovered that there were genetic underpinnings to happiness. In the effort condition ( $n=32$ ), participants read an article on the “effect of intentional effort and practices on happiness”. The article informed participants that scientists had arrived at the view that intentional effortful activities have powerful effects on and determined the levels of happiness, over and above the genetic effect. In the control condition ( $n=36$ ), participants were presented with a neutral passage on some facts about happiness. The three articles were roughly equivalent in length (see Appendix 6 for details). To ensure thorough reading, participants in all conditions were asked to answer comprehension questions after their reading.

*Essentialist beliefs about happiness (EBH) scale.* The EBH scale in Study 3 was used again, but this time as a manipulation check to the experimental induction of essentialist beliefs about happiness. I predicted that the participants in the essentialist condition would report a higher EBH score than the participants in the other conditions.

*Intentions for happiness exercises.* The item list of the *intention to practice happiness exercise* in Study 3 was used again as the dependent measures in Study 4. In addition to the 11 items in Study 3, this time three more items in the previous research (Parks et al., 2012) were included: “Nurturing my social relationships,” “Forgiving

others,” and “Practicing religion and/or spirituality.” Participant were presented with the 14-item list of the happiness-increasing strategies, and rated how much they would like to practice each of the activities in their lives. In addition, participants were asked to rate “How much they would like to exert further effort for happiness in future” on a 7-point scale.

*Valuing happiness.* To identify any differences in valuation of happiness due to the prime, participants were asked to answer “How important is *happiness* in your life” using a 0-to-100 scale.

## **Results and Discussion**

Two participants were dropped because they failed to give correct answers to the comprehension questions regarding the prime article.

***Manipulation check.*** To determine whether the priming of essentialist belief about happiness was successful, the EBH scores were subjected to a between-subjects ANOVA. As expected, the priming manipulations of essentialist beliefs about happiness were successful, with significant differences in the participants’ EBH scores among conditions,  $F(2, 102) = 6.73, p = .002$  (see Figure 1). Further analysis of planned contrasts revealed that the EBH scores for the essentialism condition ( $M = 1.53$ ) were significantly higher than those for both the effort condition ( $M = 0.43$ ),  $t(102) = 2.07, p = .04$  and the control condition ( $M = -.34$ ),  $t(102) = 3.65, p = .00$ . Participants in the effort condition rated the EBH scores as equally as the participants did in the control condition,  $t(102) = 1.41, ns$ . Overall, reading an article about genetic underpinnings to

happiness successfully yielded more essentialist views among participants in the essentialism condition, replicating and extending the priming technique of essentialism in the domain of happiness.

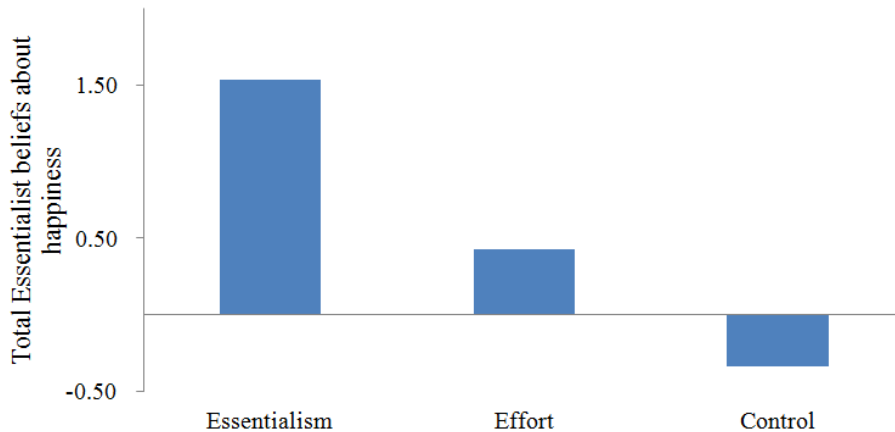


Figure 1  
*Mean Ratings of Essentialist Beliefs about Happiness by Condition*

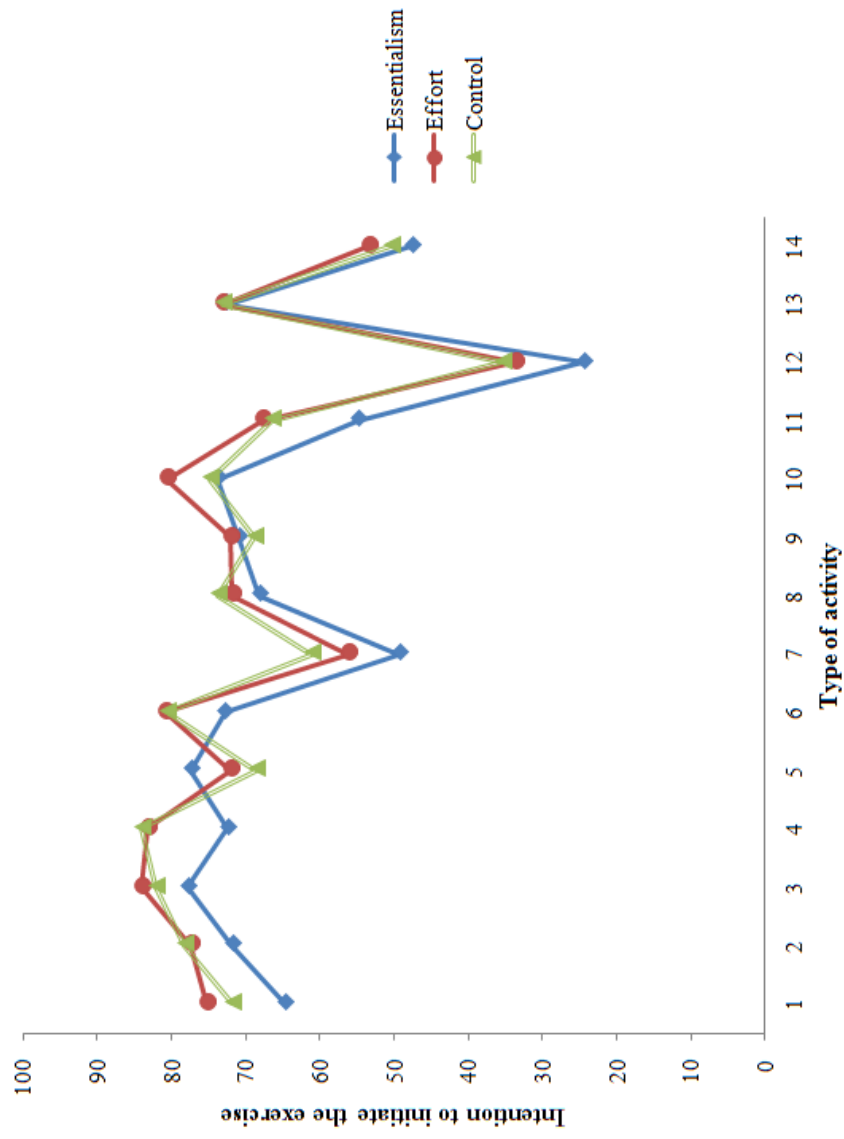
***Intention to initiate happiness exercise.*** To test whether the essentialist beliefs about happiness affect participants' intention to practice positive intervention exercises, a mixed model ANOVA with 14 types of activities as within-subjects factor and priming condition as between-subjects factor (see Table 9, Figure 2). As expected, the analysis yielded significant between-subject effect,  $F(2, 102) = 3.38, p = .038$ . The Condition X Type of activity interaction was non-significant ( $F = 1.36, ns$ ). Contrast revealed that the participants in the essentialism condition had lower intentions than those in the effort condition,  $p = .02$  and in the control condition,  $p = .04$ . As expected, when essentialist information about happiness was salient, participants tended to be less motivated to seek out happiness-related activities regardless of the types of happiness activities.

**Table 9**  
*Means of intention to initiate the happiness-related activities by condition*

	Type of activity	Essentialism Condition	Effort Condition	Control Condition
1	Practicing acts of kindness toward others	64.7	75.3	71.8
2	Pursuing goals that are important to me	71.8	77.4	78.3
3	Expressing gratitude	77.8	84.1	82.2
4	Being optimistic	72.4	83.2	84.1
5	Doing physical exercise or sports	77.4	72.1	68.7
6	Savoring life's joys	72.8	80.8	80.6
7	Acting like a happy person	49.3	56.3	61.1
8	Doing activities that make me feel "in the moment"	68.2	71.8	73.7
9	Using strategies that help me cope with stress or adversity	71.1	72.0	68.8
10	Avoiding overthinking and comparing myself to others	73.8	80.6	74.8
11	Practicing meditation	54.8	67.9	66.5
12	Nurturing my social relationships	24.4	33.7	35.4
13	Forgiving others	72.6	73.2	73.2
14	Practicing religion and/or spirituality	47.6	53.4	50.4

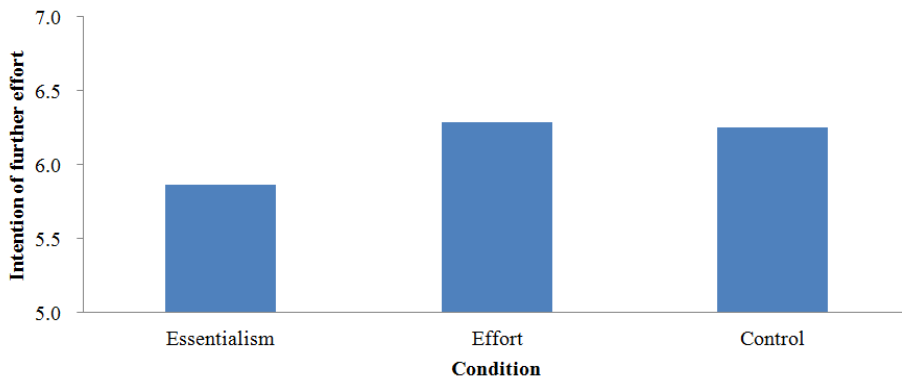


Figure 2  
*Intention to Initiate Happiness Exercise by Condition*



***Intention of further efforts for happiness.*** To test whether the essentialist beliefs about happiness would reduce participants' intentions to exert further efforts for happiness in future, I conducted an AVONA with priming condition as a between-subject factor. A marginally significant effect for conditions was emerged,  $F(2, 102) = 2.64$ ,  $p = .076$  ( $M_{\text{Essentialism}} = 5.87$ ,  $M_{\text{Effort}} = 6.29$ ,  $M_{\text{Control}} = 6.25$ ). Contrast revealed that participants in the essentialism condition rated significantly lower than those in the effort condition  $t(102) = -2.03$ ,  $p < .05$ , and marginally significantly lower than those in the control condition  $t(102) = -1.91$ ,  $p = .059$  (see Figure 3). There was no significant difference between the effort condition and the control condition  $t(102) = .19$ ,  $ns$ .

Figure 3  
*Mean Ratings of Intention of Further Effort by Condition*



***Valuing happiness.*** The next analysis was to identify if there were differences in valuing happiness of participants among priming conditions. Some may argue that essentialists consider happiness less important from the first place, not just because they

are less motivated to engage in happiness enhancing activities. To rule out the alternative explanation, I conducted an AVONA with priming condition as a between-subject factor.

Consistent with my hypothesis, the priming conditions did not differ in the valuing happiness scores for participants in the essentialism condition ( $M = 6.29$ ), the effort condition ( $M = 6.39$ ), nor the control condition ( $M = 6.36$ ),  $F(2, 102) = .173$ ,  $p = .842$ , suggesting that primed essentialist beliefs about happiness did not make people value happiness more or less.

In sum, consistent with the expectation, the results showed that essentialist beliefs about happiness reduced people's motivation to engage in happiness-related activities and to exert further efforts in becoming happier, although their valuing happiness did not differ from other conditions. These findings are consistent with recent findings on the effects of psychological essentialism on social motivation. As Prentice and Miller (2007) reviewed, psychological essentialism makes people less motivated to change status quo due to their beliefs in immutability of things. This study reinforces the findings of Study 3 by demonstrating the causal relationship between primed essentialists' conception and reduced motivations toward happiness.

## Study 5

Through Study 3 and 4, I revealed that there was a robust relationship between essentialist beliefs about happiness and well-being related measures. For essentialists, happiness is perceived as a fixed trait, thus they tend not to pursue higher level of happiness through further efforts. An important question at this juncture is whether people who construe happiness in essentialist ways would be more or less likely to benefit from positive activities. Lyubomirsky and Layous (2013) contended that the same happiness intervention gives different level of benefits to individuals depending on some factors such as motivation, beliefs, and effort. I reasoned that essentialist beliefs might be another moderating variable. One might expect that the salutary effect of a happiness intervention would be attenuated for essentialists because they are less motivated to be happier. With regard to this, Study 3 and 4 seem to support the speculation.

Therefore, a week-long intervention study was conducted to examine whether there existed moderating effects of the essentialist belief about happiness on the effectiveness of happiness-boosting interventions. In this study, the intervention activities were “expressing gratitude” (Emmons & Shelton, 2002; Emmons, 2007; Lyubomirsky, Sheldon, et al., 2005; Seligman et al., 2005), and “acts of kindness” (Lyubomirsky, Sheldon, & Schkade, 2005; Tkach, 2006), which have been proven to be effective in previous research.

## Method

### *Participants and procedure.*

125 college students at Seoul National University were recruited through advertisements in an introductory psychology class and on a campus community-based website in exchange for monetary compensation (20,000 KRW). After they signed up on-line for the study, they attended an orientation session, which informed them a brief overview of the study procedure. Then, participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: the “Gratitude condition ( $n = 44$ ,  $male = 16$ ,  $female = 28$ )”, “Kindness condition ( $n = 43$ ,  $male = 16$ ,  $female = 27$ )” or a control condition ( $n = 38$ ,  $male = 22$ ,  $female = 16$ ). The exercise of the gratitude condition was based on that of the past research (Sheldon & Lyubomirsky, 2006, *p.*76; Lyubomirsky, 2008), and the instruction was given to the participants as follows:

*Please take moment to think back over the several years of your life and remember an instance when someone did something for you for which you are extremely grateful. For example, think of the people – parents, relatives, friends, teachers, and so on – who have been especially kind to you but never heard you express your gratitude. Please try to express your gratitude to the person everyday; if there is no way to contact the person, just write about how much you thank them on the online diary form.*

The kindness condition exercise was also borrowed from Lyubomirsky (2008), and presented as follows:

*Please list 15 acts of kindness that you would like to do more in the future. Acts of kindness are acts or behaviors that are not normally expected of you in your daily life, and involve some sacrifice by you. For example, if you go to a coffee shop or stand in a line every day,*

*the act could be letting one person go ahead of you in line. After you make your list, please choose as many of acts as possible that you can do during the upcoming 7 days and write down what and how you do during the day on the online diary form.*

In a control condition, participants were asked to record the details of the day. In the pre-test, participants were asked to complete well-being measure as a baseline and their demographics. During the 7-day intervention, participants received short reminder messages every morning regarding their respective tasks and then every evening, they were provided with an online form via smartphone or email to record daily diaries. Before going to bed, participants were asked to report how they did the tasks during the day. In the post-test, participants completed online surveys, which included the identical measures of well-being in the pre-test, and in addition to that they were asked to rate how much they exerted their efforts in practicing such tasks during the 7-day period.

### **Measures**

*Essentialist belief about happiness (EBH) scales.* The EBH scale in Study 3 was used again, but this time as a moderator to examine its impact on the effectiveness of interventions.

*Life satisfaction.* To assess participants' current satisfaction with their life in general, five-item Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS: Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) was included. These items were administered two times: in the pre-test and in the post-test respectively. Prior research on the effectiveness of happiness interventions revealed that positive psychology interventions such as gratitude and

acting kindness did indeed enhance SWLS. (e.g., Lyubomirsky, King & Diener 2005; Lyubomirsky et al., 2011; Tkach, 2005)

*PANAS.* To measure affect, Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) was used, which contained 10 positive affect items (PA) and 10 negative affect items (NA). These items were administered two times: at the pre-test and the post-test respectively. Previous intervention studies have found that those intervention tasks were effective to enhance positive affect (e.g., Emmons & McCullough 2003; Lyubomirsky et al., 2005; Lyubomirsky et al., 2011; Sheldon & Lyubomirsky 2006; Watkins et al., 2003). In Study 5, PANAS was calculated by subtracting NA scores from PA scores, which is regarded as a measure of affect balance.

*SWB.* SWB variable was calculated by adding SWLS, and PA and subtracting NA.

*Daily Dairy Measures.*

- 1) *Daily activity record.* On each day, participants were asked to describe the task they had practiced during the day.
- 2) *Daily mood.* Along with the descriptive records of the task, participants completed a 10-item mood checklist each day, with four positive mood items (pleased, happy, laugh, and competent) and six negative mood items (angry, worried, sad, tired, helpless, and anxious) on a 0-10 scale (0 = “*Not at all*”, 10 = “*Extremely*”).

*Task effort.* To identify the levels of efforts each day, participants rated how they exerted effort to tasks the exercise during the day, with one item question on a 0-10 scale: “How much did you make an effort to do the task?” (0 = “*Never did*”, 10 = “*Very*

*hard*”) Previous research showed that the levels of effort may have indirect effects on effectiveness of interventions (Sin & Lyubomirsky, 2009).

## **Results and Discussion**

Ten participants in the gratitude condition and five participants in the control condition were dropped out. They were excluded in the analyses. Table 10 shows the mean scores of SWLS, affect balance and SWB in the pre-test and post-test by task conditions.

**SWB.** Repeated-measures ANOVAs were conducted to identify the effectiveness of intervention exercises and the moderation effect of the EBH for each dependent variable. For a within-subjects factor, time measurement with two levels (pre-test and post-test) was entered, and for a between-subjects factor, exercise conditions were entered. The major focus of the analyses was the impact of the EBH on gaining well-being. In the SWB analysis, the main effect of condition was significant,  $F(1, 107) = 3.73$ ,  $p = .027$  (see Figure 4). This effect was significant in the contrast between treatment conditions (Gratitude + Kind) and the control condition,  $F(2, 107) = 7.17$ ,  $p = .009$ . These results indicated that participants in the conditions with happiness exercises experienced greatly increased well-being than those in the control condition. The Condition X EBH interaction was not significant ( $F < 1$ , *ns*), demonstrating that EBH differences did not alter the effectiveness of the happiness exercises. In other words, participants gained well-being from intervention exercises no matter how they essentialized happiness.



Table 10  
Means and Standard Deviations for Changes in Well-Being by Condition

	Gratitude condition (n = 35)		Kindness condition (n = 43)		Control condition (n = 35)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
SWLS						
Pre-test	20.91	6.27	20.72	5.54	20.31	5.51
Post-test	22.63	5.89	22.40	5.70	20.57	5.68
Affect Balance						
Pre-test	4.71	11.56	4.77	10.74	4.11	11.10
Post-test	9.46	11.74	10.51	11.04	6.03	11.81
SWB						
Pre-test	25.63	15.23	25.49	14.34	24.43	14.15
Post-test	32.09	15.55	32.91	14.45	26.60	15.21

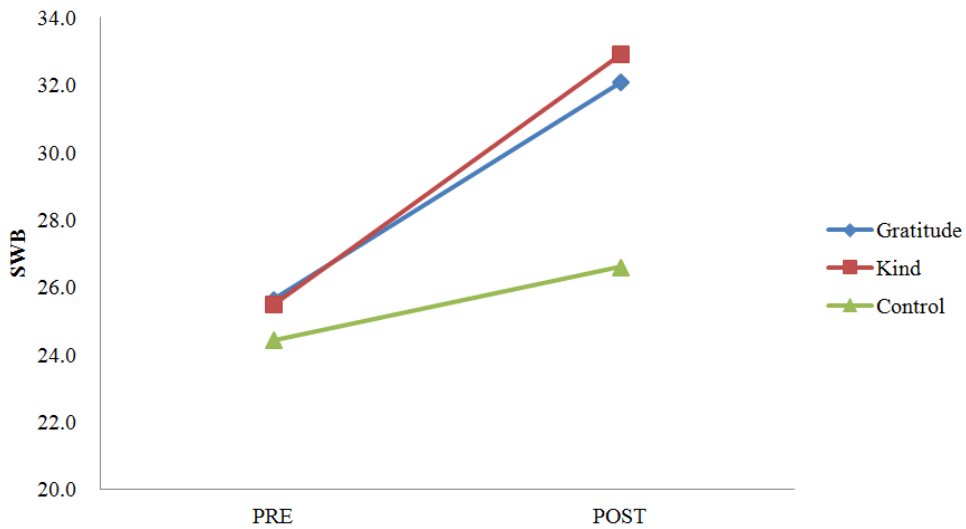


Figure 4  
*Change of SWB by Condition*

***Life Satisfaction (SWLS).*** To drill down, in the SWLS analysis, the main effect of condition was found to be significant,  $F(1, 107) = 2.94, p = .057$ . (see Figure 5). A planned comparison contrasting the two treatment conditions with the control group revealed that effect of conditions was significant,  $F(1, 107) = 5.99, p = .016$ . These results showed that the happiness interventions successfully increased participants' life satisfaction. However, Condition X EBH interaction was not significant ( $F < 1, ns$ ), indicating that participants in treatment conditions could equally benefit from the intervention tasks, regardless of the essentialist beliefs about happiness they held.

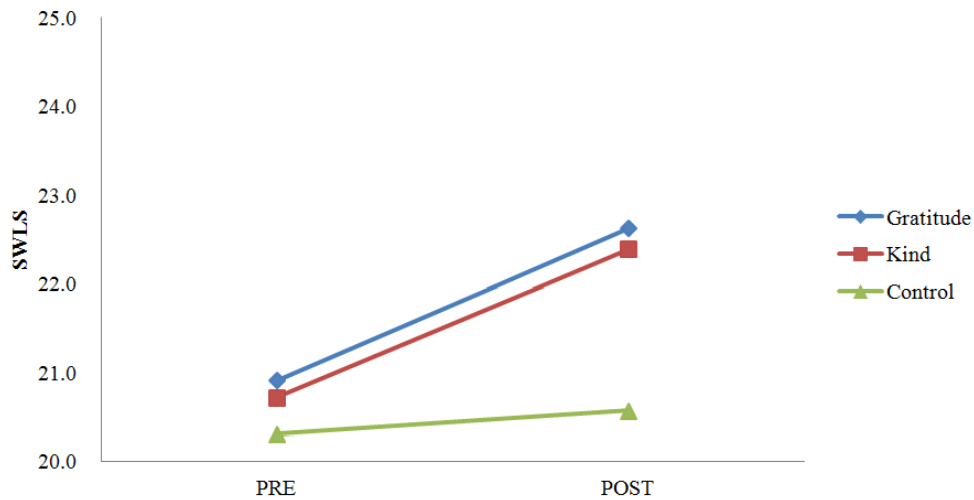


Figure 5  
*Change of SWLS by Condition*

***Affect balance.*** The affect balance variable was calculated by subtracting NA scores from PA. In the affect balance analysis, the main effect of condition ( $F = 1.07, ns$ ), and the interaction effect of EBH X Condition ( $F < 1, ns$ ), did not reach the significance level. These results showed that the participants' change of well-being among condition did not significantly differ from each other.

***Exercise efforts.*** An ANOVA was conducted to examine whether the essentialist beliefs about happiness influenced the extent to which participants exerted efforts in the tasks. In all three conditions, the differences of amount of effort were not significant and the EBH X condition interaction effect was not significant as well. Overall participants seemed to exert relatively high effort when practicing their assigned tasks ( $M_{\text{Gratitude}} = 7.17, M_{\text{Kindness}} = 7.72, M_{\text{Control}} = 7.77$ ).

In sum, doing happiness exercises bolstered well-being. However, the predicted interaction effects of the essentialist beliefs about happiness were not found; that is, it did not directly affect subsequent gains in well-being. It is quite intriguing that participants, regardless of their essentialist beliefs about happiness, equally benefited from positive interventions. Study 5, taken together with Study 3 and 4, showed that although essentialists “predict” that they would benefit less from happiness-enhancing activities (Study 3 & 4), they actually benefited equally from them as their counterparts (Study 5), suggesting a possibility that essentialists were prone to an affective forecasting error. The finding of Study 5 is very similar to that of a recent study (Zelenski et al., 2013) demonstrating that introverts benefit equally well from engaging in social interactions as extroverts although they predicted that they would benefit less from social engagement.

## General Discussion

In the present research, I examined the relationship between lay beliefs about happiness and the experience of well-being within the framework of essentialism. Based on previous research, I expected that essentialist beliefs about happiness would be related with negative implications for well-being. To test this hypothesis, I developed and validated a new scale to assess essentialist beliefs (Study 1 & 2). In Study 3, consistent with my expectations, the results showed that people with high essentialism on happiness experienced relatively low level of well-being and possessed lower intention to engage in happiness-related activities. Building on this initial evidence, Study 4 showed that priming essentialist beliefs indeed led participants to be less motivated to seek out happiness-boosting strategies. In Study 5, however, the positive interventions, such as gratitude exercise, or acts of kindness were just as effective for people who viewed happiness as biologically determined as they were for people who viewed happiness as effortfully constructed.

In sum, these results of the present study contribute to both psychological essentialism literature and happiness research in several ways. First, the present study added evidence to a growing body of psychological essentialism, suggesting that lay people do essentialize “*happiness*” as well. People essentialized happiness to quite varying degrees and the extent to which people endorse those beliefs were consequential to their experience in well-being.

Second, the evidence presented here suggested that endorsing essentialist beliefs

about happiness – beliefs that happiness is immutable and rooted in biological underpinnings – may produce negative well-being outcomes. As shown in Study 4, the essentialist beliefs about happiness reduced intention to engage in happiness exercises, which may further reinforce unhappiness. It is assumed that the essentialist beliefs about happiness influence directly on motivational processes or their “*will*” toward well-being. As researchers noted, how people construe life events plays a more crucial role in sustaining happiness (Lyubomirsky, 2001). Perhaps people with essentialist beliefs may have a tendency to perceive happiness exercises in less positive ways. Or, they may skeptically underestimate effectiveness of such activities or may be prone to make affective forecasting errors.

Third, it is worth considering which lay theories about happiness is beneficial or should be cultivated to the public. In Study 4, “*mere*” exposure to an article about genetic determinism of happiness changed participants’ view on happiness, which eventually decreased their intentions to initiate happiness strategies. Given that mere exposure of certain facts may alter attitude (Zajonc, 1968), further studies need to identify influential factors that shape essentialist beliefs about happiness and to seek out effective and long-lasting ways to retrain people’s lay beliefs.

Finally, as shown in Study 5, anyone can be happier through effective happiness strategies. Participants, regardless of their essentialist beliefs about happiness, equally benefited from positive interventions. Considering that several factors were found to have moderation effects on the effectiveness of happiness intervention (e.g., depression status, age, format and duration of the exercise) (Sin & Lyubomirsky, 2009), I found this

somewhat surprising, because it was contrary to my pessimistic prediction that happiness essentialist would benefit less from the interventions than non-essentialists. However, based on my data, it could be asserted that the silver lining of these findings may be the fact that if undertaken, happiness exercises could eventually increased well-being regardless of how they endorse the essentialist beliefs about happiness. This supports the view that happiness can be cultivated through practices. Yet replication and extensions are further needed to better understand the role of essentialist beliefs about happiness on effectiveness of happiness interventions.

### **Future research**

What are the contexts that make people essentialize happiness? This may be a meaningful question for future research regarding the essentialist beliefs about happiness. Our results of the present study are limited by the fact that the sample was restricted to college students at Seoul National University. To generalize the results, it is required to replicate in broader samples of adults across cultures. Researchers in cultural psychology showed that there are substantial variations in the conceptions of happiness across cultures and time (e.g., Uchida, Norasakkunkit & Kitayama, 2004 ; Oishi et al., 2013). It is thus reasonable to expect that cultural factors may affect how lay people essentialize conceptions of happiness. Furthermore, given that essentialism is a form of reasoning mechanism (Gelman, 2003), I can find some supportive evidence in cross-cultural research that essentialist beliefs about happiness may vary across cultures. For example, Choi et al., (1999) reviewed the evidence that although

lay dispositionism, a tendency to overemphasize the role of dispositional causes when explaining human outcomes, is cross-culturally widespread, East Asians were markedly less prone to make dispositional inferences than Westerners did when situational factors were salient. They argued that people in East Asia were less likely to agree with lay dispositionism because they were more sensitive to contextual cues than Westerners. In the domain of happiness, however, it is still an unanswered question in terms of whether there are cultural differences in to what extent people essentialize happiness and in the roles of those beliefs in experiencing well-being.

An interesting question arises from an evolutionary perspective as to whether the essentialism about happiness is an adaptive or maladaptive. According to Buss (2000), current psychological mechanisms in human mind are the end products of a selective process, and some adaptive psychological mechanisms (e.g., jealousy or anger and upset) seem to be designed to interfere with human happiness. Furthermore, some researchers argued that universal essentialism tendency is an evolved psychological mechanism designed to take advantage for interaction with the world (Gelman, 2003). However, considering the high cost of essentialism about happiness on well-being as shown in the present study, a skeptical question is still remains: In what ways are essentialist beliefs about happiness necessary to human?



## **Conclusion**

In this study I demonstrated that essentialist beliefs about happiness were negatively related to well-being and motivations, which may act as potential barriers in enhancing well-being. However, the study also showed that happiness interventions could be effective prescriptions for the essentialists to eventually overcome obstacles and achieve well-being. Findings imply that happiness essentialists should be encouraged to devote themselves to happiness exercises. *Exercise happiness, not essentialize it!*

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: The Essentialist Beliefs about Happiness Scale (EBH)

이 질문지는 사람들의 가치관에 대해서 알아보고자 하는 것입니다. 이 질문들에 대해서는 **정답이나 오답이 없습니다**. 다음 주장들에 대해서 평소 자신의 생각과 얼마나 일치하는지, 일치하지 않는지를 아래의 **7점 척도**를 사용하여 표시해주십시오.

전혀 일치 하지 않는다			보통이다			매우 일치 한다
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. 일반적으로 개인의 행복 수준은 일생 동안 크게 변하지 않는다
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. 한 사람의 행복감은 일시적으로 증진되거나 감소될 수 있지만, 대부분의 삶에서 행복 수준은 크게 변하지 않는다
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. 개인의 행복은 상당 부분 이미 결정되어 있다
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. 행복한 사람과 행복하지 않은 사람은 정해져 있으며, 변할 수 있는 여지는 크지 않다
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. 누구나 개인의 노력이나 연습을 통해 행복해 질 수 있다
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. 개인의 의지에 따라 행복감은 크게 달라질 수 있다
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. 불행한 사람도 노력한다면 행복해질 수 있다
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. 행복은 마음 먹기에 달려있다
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. 행복은 유전자에 의해 결정된다.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. 행복한 사람들은 행복에 유리한 유전자나 생물학적 특징을 더 많이 가지고 있다
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. 개인의 행복은 유전적 특징에 의해 대부분 설명된다
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. 한 개인의 행복 수준은 절대로 그 사람의 유전자나 생물학적 요인에 의해 설명될 수 없다 (R)

## Appendix 2: Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS)

아래의 글을 읽고, 평소에 여러분이 스스로의 삶에 대해 생각하는 것과 일치하는 정도에 가장 가까운 곳에 표시해 주십시오.

전혀 그렇지 않다			보통이다				매우 그렇다
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. 전반적으로 나의 삶은 내가 생각하는 이상적인 삶에 가깝다.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. 나의 삶의 조건은 매우 훌륭하다.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. 나는 나의 삶에 만족한다.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. 지금까지 살아오면서 나는 원했던 것들을 모두 얻었다.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. 만약 다시 태어난다면, 지금 그대로 아무것도 변하지 않으면 좋겠다.

### Appendix 3: Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS)

다음의 단어들은 감정이나 기분을 나타내는 것입니다. 각 단어를 읽고 현재를 포함한 최근 1개월 동안 당신이 느끼는 기분의 정도를 가장 잘 나타낸 곳에 표시해 주십시오.

문 항	내 용	전혀 그렇지 않다	약간 그렇다	보통 이다	많이 그렇다	매우 많이 그렇다
1	흥미진진한	1	2	3	4	5
2	짜증난	1	2	3	4	5
3	괴로운	1	2	3	4	5
4	정신이 맑게 깨어있는	1	2	3	4	5
5	신나는	1	2	3	4	5
6	부끄러운	1	2	3	4	5
7	화난	1	2	3	4	5
8	감명받은	1	2	3	4	5
9	강인한	1	2	3	4	5
10	불안한	1	2	3	4	5
11	죄책감 드는	1	2	3	4	5
12	단호한	1	2	3	4	5
13	겁에 질린	1	2	3	4	5
14	집중하는	1	2	3	4	5
15	적대적인	1	2	3	4	5
16	조바심 나는	1	2	3	4	5
17	열정적인	1	2	3	4	5
18	활기찬	1	2	3	4	5
19	자랑스러운	1	2	3	4	5
20	두려운	1	2	3	4	5

## Appendix 4: Psychological Well-Being (PWB)

아래에 있는 글을 읽고, 평소에 여러분이 자신의 삶에 대해 가지고 있는 생각과 얼마나 일치하는지 아래의 5점 척도에 따라 해당하는 정도를 숫자로 \_\_\_\_\_에 적어 주십시오.

전혀 그렇지 않다		보통이다		매우 그렇다
1	2	3	4	5

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. 나에게 친밀한 관계들을 유지하는 것은 어렵고 좌절스러운 일이었다.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. 사람들은 나를 잘 배풀고 나의 시간을 기꺼이 다른 사람과 나누는 사람이라고 할 것이다.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. 나는 따뜻하고 신뢰할 수 있는 관계를 많이 경험하지 못했다.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. 내 성격이 대부분 마음에 든다.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. 내 삶을 돌아볼 때, 대부분의 결과들에 대해 만족한다.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. 여러 면에서 내가 삶에서 성취한 것들에 실망감을 느낀다.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. 나는 강력한 의견을 가진 사람들에게 의해 영향을 받는 편이다.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. 내 생각들이 다수의 의견과 다르다고 하더라도, 나는 내 의견에 대해 자신이 있다.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. 나는 다른 사람들이 중요하게 생각하는 가치들이 아니라, 내가 중요하다고 생각하는 것으로 나를 판단한다.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. 나에게 삶은 배움, 변화, 그리고 성장의 연속적인 과정이다.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. 나 자신과 세상에 대해 생각하는 방식을 바꾸는 계기가 될 수 있는 새로운 경험을 하는 것이 중요하다고 생각한다.

- \_\_\_\_\_12. 나는 내 인생에서 큰 발전을 이루거나 변화하도록 노력하는 것을 오래 전에 포기했다.
- \_\_\_\_\_13. 일상적인 삶의 요구들은 나를 지치게 한다.
- \_\_\_\_\_14. 대체로, 나는 내가 살아가는 상황을 책임지고 있다고 느낀다.
- \_\_\_\_\_15. 나는 일상적인 생활에서 많은 책임들을 꽤 잘 감당한다.
- \_\_\_\_\_16. 인생을 목적 없이 사는 사람들도 있지만, 나는 그런 사람이 아니다.
- \_\_\_\_\_17. 나는 오늘의 삶에 충실하며, 미래에 대해 많이 생각하지 않는다.
- \_\_\_\_\_18. 나는 때때로 인생에서 해야 할 모든 것을 다한 것 같다고 느낀다.

## Appendix 5: Intention to initiate happiness-related activities (Study 3, 4)

다음은 최근 연구를 통해 인간의 행복을 증진시키는데 탁월한 효과가 있다고 밝혀진 방법들입니다. 아래 방법들 가운데 평소 자신의 삶에서 실천해보고 싶은 의향을 7점 척도로 표시해주십시오.

전혀 해보고 싶지 않음	보통이다					매우 실천해 보고 싶음
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. 다른 사람에게 친절하게 선행 베풀기
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. 나에게 중요한 목표 추구하기
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. 감사함을 표현하기
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. 낙관적으로 살기
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. 스포츠나 육체적인 운동하기
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. 삶의 즐거움을 음미하기
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. 행복한 사람처럼 행동하기
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. "현재 이순간에" 있다고 느끼게끔 하는 행동들을 하기
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. 스트레스나 역경을 극복할 수 있는 전략들을 사용하기
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. 다른 사람과 비교하지 않고, 지나치게 생각하지 않기
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. 명상하기
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. 인간관계 돌보기
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. 다른 사람을 용서하기
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. 종교활동 하기, 영성 기르기

## Appendix 6: Priming condition (Study 4)

### ■ 본질주의 조건 (Essentialism condition)

행복 석학 교수, “행복은 노력 아닌 유전 …DNA가 행복을 결정한다”

행복의 40%는 노력, 환경의 영향은 10%에 불과, 무려 50%의 행복은 각자 부모로부터 물려받은 유전적 기질에 의해 만들어집니다.”

20년째 ‘행복’을 연구하고 있는 긍정 심리학 분야의 최고 권위자 A교수는 최근 인터뷰를 갖고 “행복의 가장 큰 결정 변인은 유전자(DNA)”라고 정의했다. 그는 “행복해지기 쉬운 유전적 특성을 타고 난 사람은 웬만큼 열악한 환경에서도 행복감을 느끼기 때문에 행복이 마음가짐이나 노력에 달려있다는 것은 공허한 말 장난”이라고 강조했다. 특히, 그는 개인에 따라 행복의 Set-point에 차이가 있기 때문에 무슨 일을 겪든지 결국 평상이 행복 수준인 그 Set-point으로 되돌아 온다고 설명했다. “서로 다른 환경에서 자란 일란성 쌍둥이들이 같은 가정에서 자란 이란성 쌍둥이 보다 더 비슷하게 움직인다는 연구 결과도 존재한다”며 개인의 행복에 가장 중요한 영향을 미치는 것은 바로 유전자라고 설명했다. 또한, 그는 “최근 행복한 사람들에게 ‘행복 유전자’라고 부를 수 있는 특정 유전자(5-HTTLPR)가 발견되었다는 사실은 행복을 결정하는데 유전자가 가장 큰 역할을 한다는 또 다른 증거”라고 주장했다. 그는 많은 사람들이 행복은 노력에 달려있다고 조언하지만, 그러한 노력으로 행복해질 여지는 그리 크지 않다며, 본질적으로 행복은 유전자가 좌우한다고 강조했다.

### ■ 노력 조건 (Effort condition)

행복 석학 교수 “행복은 유전 아닌 습관…노력한 만큼 행복해진다”

행복의 50%는 유전, 10%는 환경의 영향을 받지만 나머지 40%는 연습’에 의해 만들어집니다.”

20년째 ‘행복’을 연구하고 있는 긍정 심리학 분야의 최고 권위자 A교수는



최근 인터뷰를 갖고 행복의 유전과 환경의 영향은 노력과 연습에 의해 충분히 극복 가능하기 때문에, 행복은 주어지는 게 아니라 노력으로 만들어가는 것”이라고 정의했다. 그는 “행복에 미치는 유전과 환경의 효과는 숫자에 불과하며, 행복해지기 위한 활동들을 반복적으로 꾸준히 실천하다 보면 누구나 높은 행복 수준을 지속시킬 수 있다”라고 강조했다. 특히, 그는 개인이 행복을 위한 어떤 노력을 하는지에 따라 장기적으로 행복 수준이 달라질 수 있다고 설명했다. “타인에게 친절하게 대하기, 감사 일기 쓰기, 규칙적으로 운동하기 등 행복해지기 위한 노력을 의도적으로 실천한 집단은 일상적인 활동을 해온 대조 집단에 비해 연구 기간 동안 4배나 큰 행복감을 냈다는 연구 결과도 존재한다”며 개인의 행복에 가장 중요한 영향을 미치는 것은 바로 노력과 습관이라고 설명했다. 또한 그는 “최근 행복 지수가 매우 높은 개인들에게 ‘행복 습관’이라고 부를 수 있는 특정 생활 패턴이 발견되었다는 사실은 행복을 결정하는데 노력이 가장 큰 역할을 한다는 또 다른 증거”라고 주장했다. 그는 많은 사람들이 행복이 삶의 조건이나 유전자에 달려있다고 생각하지만, 그러한 요인들로 행복이 변화될 여지는 크지 않다고 본질적으로 행복은 노력이 좌우한다고 강조했다.

#### ▪ 중립 조건 (Control condition)

*행복 석학 교수 “행복이란 주관적 경험 ... 단일 측정치의 행복 순위 비교는 위험”*

“행복은 자신의 삶에 대한, 혹은 살아가는 과정에서 경험하는 주관적인 경험을 의미합니다. 그러나, 어떤 주관적 경험을 행복으로 규정할 것인가는 여전히 이견이 존재합니다” 20년째 ‘행복’을 연구하고 있는 긍정 심리학 분야의 최고 권위자 A교수는 최근 인터뷰를 갖고 행복 연구분야의 추세에 대해 “주관적 경험을 행복의 본질로 정의하며, 자기 삶에 대한 개인의 주관적인 평가로 측정하는 데는 대체로 학자들 간의 어느 정도 합의가 존재한다. 그러나, 어떤 주관적 경험이 행복의 요소가 되느냐에 대해서는 학자들에 따라 이견이 있다”고 설명했다. 그는 긍정적 정서 경험과 삶의 만족감을 주관적 행복의 주요 요소로 보는 학자들이 있는 반면, 의미나 개인적 성장 등과

같이 반드시 긍정적 정서가 수반되지 않을 수 있는 경험들을 진정한 행복의 요소라고 주장하는 학자들도 있다고 설명했다. 특히, 그는 최근 각국 행복 관련 통계 자료들이 늘어남에 따라 국가 간 행복 수준을 비교하는 사례를 흔히 볼 수 있는데, 하나의 지표만으로 국가 행복 순위를 비교하는 일은 매우 위험할 수 있다고 강조했다. “어떤 나라는 정서 경험으로 쟁 순위에서는 높더라도, 의미 경험에서는 낮을 수 있기 때문에, 독자들은 행복 순위 등의 조사 결과를 볼 때, 어떤 측정치를 사용하였는지를 먼저 살펴보아야 할 것” 이라고 덧붙이며, 하나의 행복 측정치에 발표되는 순위에 일희일비 하지 않는 지혜를 가질 필요가 있다고 강조했다.

## 국문 초록

# 행복에 대한 본질주의적 믿음이 웰빙에 미치는 영향

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유 재 경

일반인들도 마치 학자들처럼 세상을 이해하고 해석하기 위한 이론을 만드는데, 이것을 내재 이론이라 부른다. 심리학에서 최근 가장 주목받고 있는 내재 이론 중 하나는 바로 본질주의이다. 본질주의란 어떤 무엇이 되는데 그것의 정체성을 규정하는 보이지 않는 고유한 근본적 속성, 즉, 에센스가 존재한다고 믿는 믿음이다. 많은 사회 심리학자들은 사회적 카테고리 (예. 인종, 계층, 성별 등)에 대한 본질주의적 사고가 초래하는 부정적 결과들 (예. 편견, 고정관념, 인종차별 등)에 대해 연구해왔다. 본 연구에서는 사람들의 행복에 대한 본질주의적 믿음이 실제 경험하는 행복감과 행복해지기 위한 노력 의사에 어떠한 영향을 미치는지에 대해 살펴보았다. 본 연구에서 정의하는 행복에 대한 본질주의적 믿음은 개인의 노력 여부와는 관계없이 행복을

결정하는 유전자와 같은 어떤 본질이 존재한다고 믿으며, 따라서, 행복 수준도 불변한다는 믿음을 의미한다. 연구 1과 2에서는 행복의 본질주의적 믿음을 측정하는 척도를 개발하였고, 개발된 척도의 타당도를 확인하였다. 연구 3에서는 행복 측정 변인과 행복에 대한 본질주의적 믿음 척도와의 상관 관계를 살펴보았다. 그 결과, 행복에 대해 본질주의적 믿음은 행복을 측정하는 척도, 즉, 삶의 만족도(SWLS), 정서(Affect balance), 심리적 안녕감(PWB), 행복 증진 활동 실천 의사 등과 부적 상관 관계를 나타냈다. 상관 관계의 방향성을 확인하기 위해 연구 4에서는 참가자들의 본질주의적 믿음을 조작하여 행복과 관련된 활동을 하고자 하는 의도에 미치는 영향을 살펴보았다. 예상대로, 행복에 대해 본질주의적 관점을 부각시킨 조건의 참가자들은 그렇지 않은 다른 조건의 참가자들보다 앞으로 행복해 지기 위한 노력을 덜 할 것이라고 응답했으며, 행복에 도움이 되는 다양한 활동을 하고자 하는 의사를 유의미하게 낮게 나타냈다. 연구 5에서는 행복의 본질주의적 믿음이 행복 증진 활동의 (감사하기, 친절 베풀기) 효과성에 미치는 영향을 확인해보기 위해 1주일 간의 인터벤션 연구를 진행하였다. 그 결과, 행복의 본질주의적 믿음과 상관없이 행복 인터벤션에 할당된 참가자들은 일주일 뒤의 행복이 증진되는 것으로 나타났다. 즉, 본질주의적 믿음과 관계없이 누구나 행복 인터벤션을 통해 행복을 향상시킬 수 있다는 점을 확인하였다. 본 연구는 일반인들이 가지고 있는 행복의 본질주의적 믿음이 행복 경험에 부정적인 역할을 하며, 특히 행복 증진 활동 실천 의사를 저하시킨다는 것을 밝힘으로써, 행복에 대한 내재 이론의 중요성에 대해 확인하였다. 종합 논의에서는 이 결과들이 갖는 함의에 대해 논의하였다.

**주요어 :** 행복, 내재이론, 웰빙, 본질주의, 행복 인터벤션

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